



Framing Prostitution in Turkey: News Media Coverage of Prostitution

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Abstract

Prostitution has been considered one of the most sensitive social issues in Turkey. The study aims to determine the attitudes toward prostitution by analyzing news on prostitution in three daily newspapers having the top circulations in Turkey. In this study, framing analysis is used to determine the representation of prostitutions in the news media. The analysis reveals that there are four themes in the period under review: non-Turkish prostitutes, disease – HIV, consumers and organized crime.

Keywords: Prostitution, News Media, Framing Analysis, Turkey.

Introduction

Prostitution is often called “the world’s oldest profession”, and it is also the most sensitive social issue in most contemporary societies (Barkan, 2009, p. 445). It existed in ancient Mesopotamia, also in ancient Greece; legal brothels (houses of prostitution) were common. It also flourished in ancient Rome. Today, prostitution is illegal in most industrial societies. Legalized prostitution involves state, county, or city regulations that regulate prostitution, for instance, requiring STD tests, and collecting taxes. Decriminalization would justify commercial sex; however, it would not diminish the trauma and the humiliation of being prostituted. The vast majority of the prostitute experiences being hunted, dominated, harassed, assaulted and battered (Lowman, 2000).

Prostitution emerged as a serious concern on the public agenda. It includes many various issues, such as: labor, education, social inequality, disease, welfare, trafficking, human rights, and violence (Farley, 2010, p. 168). According to those who oppose prostitution, they perceived it as immoral. However, prostitution is inevitable, and also it has raised controversial issues throughout human history.

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Prostitution in Turkey

In Turkey, prostitution is legalized by law; only forced prostitution is illegal in the Turkish Criminal Code. Legalization includes state regulations that govern prostitution, for instance, collecting taxes, requiring STD tests, and mandatory use of a condom. Women who work in government sponsored brothels are mandated to receive regular medical exams by the Turkish General Health Care Law which passed in 1930 (Umumi Hifsisihha Kanunu, 1930). In sum, it is “regulative” (Küntay & Çokar, 2007). According to Ankara Chamber of Commerce, there are 100,000 prostitutes and 56 brothels in Turkey (ATO, 2004). However, a study conducted by the Foundation of Human Resource Development (FHRD) showed that police officers arrested more than 2 000 unregistered sex workers in Istanbul in a one year period (FHRD, 1996 as cited in Cok, Gray & Ersever, 2001).

In Turkey, the majority of prostitutes have been forced into the profession by a combination of socio-economic pressures, as well as by personal constraints of certain old traditions (Küntay & Çokar, 2007). It is also common that the most popular Turkish movies address the notion that the girls have entered the profession “voluntarily”, because they didn’t have any other options. However, it is clear that only the final step may have been voluntary, the circumstances made their “choice” practically inevitable. Poverty, illiteracy, backwardness, the lack of employment opportunities (even with employable skills) and all these together with sexual inequality creates a formidable combination that pushes women into prostitution (Farley, 2010).

As Turkish culture can be characterized as traditional, authoritarian, and patriarchal (Kağıtçıbaşı & Ataca, 2005; Kağıtçıbaşı & Sunar, 1992; Sunar, 2002; Sunar & Fişek, 2005), the other factor is the basic inequality between the sexes, which cause economic vulnerability and limited career options for poor women. As the vast majority of prostitutes reported, prostitution would provide “better pay for what they had to do anyway” (Farley, 2010, p. 168). The continuing taboo regarding virginity of brides and remarriage of widows are another related factor that contributes to forced prostitution in Turkey. Sexuality cannot be openly discussed and sexual relations outside of marriage are forbidden for women (Aral & Fransen, 1995; Cok, Gray & Ersever, 2001; Aras, Semin, Gunay, Orcin & Ozan, 2007; Askun & Ataca, 2007). In contrast, sexuality is expected in young men who become sexually active between the ages of 16-19 (Akalin, 1996). The gender differences in sexual behavior sometimes result in forced marriages of young people after premarital sex and violence against women who engage in sexual relation outside of marriage (Carkoglu & Toprak, 2005 as cited in Aras et. al., 2007).

Of 854 prostitutes from nine countries including Turkey, Canada, Colombia, Germany, Mexico, South Africa, Thailand, United States, and Zambia, Farley and colleagues found that 75 percent were currently or previously homeless (Farley, 2010, p. 172). Similar to other patriarchal societies, women in Turkey are regarded as “sex objects” that exist for the pleasure of men. According to Millet, female prostitution is “inevitable and perhaps even a logical extension of ordinary female-male relationships in which men continue to be dominant” (Millet, 1973 as cited in Barkan, 2010, p. 448). Apparently, the cultural and economic factors channeled women into prostitution.

The current study stands on the idea that prostitution is a newsworthy social problem and newsworthiness matters due to the encouraging coverage, which can improve awareness and potentially shape public opinion. Therefore, the study aims to determine

the discourses of prostitutes by analyzing three mainstream newspapers, which have the top circulations in Turkey, news on prostitution.

Representation of Prostitution: A Historical Review

The representation of prostitution is also problematic. After the resurgence of the feminist movement in 1960s, the traditional representation of women has started being questioned (Freidan, 1963 as cited in Mclaughlin, 1991). Mostly, women's problems and feminist voices became more widespread among television, films, and popular music (Felski, 1989 as cited in Mclaughlin, 1991). Some of the feminists argue that "changes in women's images have been superficial at best, with the goals of feminism translated into representations of women who are competitive in their career goals and sexually assertive in their personal relationships" (Mclaughlin, 1991). According to the previous feminist analysis, it can be said that the images of women have altered with the rise of the feminist movement. Feminists who worked on prostitute have found that the image of the prostitute has changed from sensationalized, deviant and disordered actor to that of a working woman (Mclaughlin, 1991).

Contemporary discourses on prostitution emphasize the function of the body, identity, sexual difference, and deviance (Mclaughlin, 1991). Regarding Kuhn's notion on function of the body within a cultural context, body signifies the sexual difference that is not only a biological state, but also grounded historically. Kuhn defined it as an "ideological battle ground" which tries to gather the discourses on biological sex, social gender, gender identity, and sexual object choice (Kuhn, 1989). In that sense, this statement echoes Foucault, who stated that sexuality is a historical construct, and is "the set of effects produced in bodies' behaviors and social relations by a certain deployment deriving from a complex political technology" (Foucault, 1980 as cited in Mclaughlin, 1991).

It is clear that current and past prostitution lies outside of culturally defined 'ordinary' categories of sex and is often represented as 'other'. Regarding the dominant cultural norms, the prostitution involves non-reproductive sex, impersonal sex in exchange for money; in sum, it violates the dominant notions of sex and sexual practice. According to a study on the prostitution narratives on television, in general the narratives "revolved around saving the prostitute or solving her murder, often achieve their coherence and closure by falling to adequately challenge her status as prostitute, as associated with deviance and disorder" (Mclaughlin, 1991, p. 258). Dolan also discussed the representation of prostitution as 'other' rooted in the traditional male dominance over women by constructing women as a sex objects while stressing the male subjectivity (Dolan, 1988 as cited in Mclaughlin, 1991).

Representation of prostitution as 'other' also includes the social role expectations among the woman in the society regarding their biological nature. The roles of women as mother, daughter, and wife are considered as ordinary, but when the other forms of women's sexuality appear in society, it is perceived as unnatural and stigmatized as deviant (Nead, 1987). Regarding Nead's explanation on the representation of prostitutes as 'other', the image of prostitution as deviant can be understood in the relation with the notion of the women's fundamental biological characteristics, particularly, reproduction. Due to her productive characteristic, women are perceived as 'respectable'. But when sex is not for reproductive purposes or for the satisfaction of her partner, the woman perceived as 'disreputable' (Nead, 1987, p.75).

During the nineteenth century, a prostitute was also represented as a 'victim' by defining the fallen woman as one who could not return to her 'respectable' position in a society. And as the story went on she turned to prostitution, drink, and in the end she committed suicide (Nead, 1987, McLaughlin, 1991). In these news stories, the prostitute represented as victim due to her weak nature and "love of self-sacrifice" is also "respectable" (McLaughlin, 1991, p. 251). Victim discourse may also serve to stigmatize the groups as being different from the set norm and called/referred to as 'other' (Brown, 1995).

In addition, Jacobsen and Stenvoll analyzed the constitution of connected ways in which Muslim women and foreign women who sell sex in public discourse as victims in Norway. They concluded "Muslim women and foreign women who sell sex are symbolically at opposite ends of the public/private binary" (Jacobsen & Stenvoll, 2010, p. 287). In Norwegian society, both of them are constructed as victim of patriarchal structures (Jacobsen & Stenvoll, 2010).

As Hall mentioned, dominant discourses are the reflection of society's cultural and political structures (Hall, 1982). With the representation of prostitution and during the process of representation of the prostitution, social relations and subjectivity is produced (Linker, 1984; Owens, 1983). To understand the power dynamics in gender and inequalities, the analysis of news media coverage is needed as this shapes the mass perception.

The mass media, especially daily newspapers, play a crucial role in producing the dominant perspectives on events and issues (Entman, 1991, p. 9). Many scholars noted that journalists are major actors who shape the public discourse (Tuchman, 1978). The starting point for this study is how prostitution was framed in the Turkish media coverage particularly in three daily newspapers having top circulations.

Framing the Prostitutes in the news media: a literature review

Most of the scholars, especially feminist researchers, have applied the framing analysis to reveal the power dynamics of gender and inequalities in specific situations. Grjebine conducted a study on the media, women and the prostitution in India, Malaysia, and the Philippines. In this study, there is a link between tourism and prostitution; however, the news media portrayed prostitution as a business rather than social problem to be solved (Grjebine, 1986, p. 89). In Cabezas' study on prostitutes in Cuba during the economic crisis in the 1990s, she found that the news characterized the Cuban women as responsible for the existence of prostitution in Cuba, but they did not provide discussions on the customers (Cabeza, 1998).

Brunschot and colleagues, who examined the prostitutes' images in major Canadian newspapers, asserted that the "danger" of female sexuality is ever-present, and the prostitution is "one of the enduring metaphors for female sexuality under patriarchy" (Brunschot, Sydie & Krull, 1999, p. 67). Lowman examined the violence against the prostitutes by constructing a profile of the murders of sex workers. According to the study, the number of news stories mentioning the violence against prostitutes is higher than the number of news stories mentioning prostitution (Lowman, 2000, p. 1001).

Stenvoll studied the themes on prostitution in Norwegian newspaper coverage of cross border prostitution of Russian women between 1990 and 2001. As a result of the study, five main themes on prostitution, public order, public health, social/moral breakdown, stigma, and possible benefit, are extracted (Stenvoll, 2002, p. 149). Kantola and Squires

focused on the policy discourses in the UK and the Netherlands' debate on prostitution and pointed out the national differences among the primary actors was shaping the policy discourse (Kantola & Squires, 2004).

Generally, researches about the news coverage of prostitution indicate that the news media is the representation of the societies' cultural and political structures. In most of the studies, which focused on the relationship between media and society, are the results of the meaning-construction process. Therefore, the starting point of this study is that the news is socially constructed.

Frame and Framing Analyses

To understand the relationship between the media and society, and to analyze the role of media in public discourse, the main concept coined by McCombs and Shaw is agenda-setting (McCombs & Shaw, 1972, p. 178). The main notion is that what is considered important by the news media is also considered important by the public. Agenda setting focuses on which issues are reported, but framing is how the issues are reported (Weaver, 2007, p. 143). The concept of framing originated from Ervin Goffman, who defined a frame as "the principles of organization (of the life experience) which govern events.....and our subjective involvement in them" (Goffman, 1974, p. 10).

Most scholars have used the framing analysis to understand the various aspects of the mass communication process (D'Angelo, 2002 as cited in Wu, 2006). Journalistic framing is an issue of media production process in which journalist work with the cultural norms and cognitive plan to give the meanings to the events that they cover in news (D'Angelo, 2002; Wicks, 2005). To conceive the frames as discursive structures that are embedded in the news discourses, the message framing studies focus on the media product (Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, & Sasson, 1992; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Wicks, 2005; Wu, 2006). When the audience consumes the media content to interpret the world in which they live, audience framing occurs. In that way, framing is a cognitive plan or "collective consciousnesses" that construct the meaning in the mind of the media consumer as an audience. The framing is the process that constructs the social reality; hence, framing studies is one of the best ways to uncover the complexity of the social construction of reality (Wu, 2006).

Presentation of issues in the media plays an important role in shaping the public opinion. Framing an issue in certain ways shapes its reality for an audience, and alters the public's understanding of the issue and the importance they assign it (Ball-Rokeach & Rokeach, 1987; Gamson, 1985, 1992; Gitlin, 1980; Graber, 1989; Hall et. al., 1978; Jasperson, Shah, Watts, Faber & Fan, 1998). Thus, public opinion is shaped depending on how issues are framed. Scholars have argued that frames clearly influence public opinion, but its effects on opinion are manifold and complex (Jasperson, et. al., 1998).

According to Goffman's phenomenological analysis of frame, individuals must actively review and interpret their own life experiences to understand the world around them. In that sense, frame is the lens through which individuals construct the meanings of the social reality for themselves. Frame as a lens can be in different forms such as; culture, ideology, journalistic routine, language, or cognition (Reese, 2001). The news media uses story lines, symbols, and stereotypes to develop news stories through interpretative and symbolic process (Iyengar & Simon, 1993, p. 370). According to Pan and Kosicki (1993, p. 57), the fundamental element of framing is the selection of words, and the words are the

“designator” to construct the news frames. Hence, framing analysis is used to analyze the media texts and focuses on the words, phrases, or ideas that shape public perception (Entman, 1993, p. 55). Therefore, framing is the assumption that “subtle changes in the descriptive wording about a situation are likely to affect how people interpret this situation” (Scheufele, 2000 as cited in Kao, 1998, p. 13).

Methodology

The current study on the news coverage of prostitution in three Turkish daily newspapers having top circulations addresses the following research questions:

- Research Question 1: How were the frames of news about prostitution constructed by the three most-selling daily newspapers during 2010?
- Research Question 2: Did the news stories on prostitution include the picture and/or statement of the prostitute?
- Research Question 3: What were the differences, if any, in news frames among these Turkish daily newspapers?

The news frames are analyzed in a qualitative manner. As news frames are embodied in the keywords, metaphors, concepts, symbols, and visual images that are emphasized in a news narrative (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989), the study analyzes the news frames about prostitution using the media packages which offer a number of condensing symbols and framing devices. The research design of this study was primarily inductive, as certain themes emerged through the research process.

Data collection was conducted by searching the online archive of the Hürriyet, Zaman, and Posta between January 1, 2010 and December 31, 2010. All are Turkish-language newspapers published 7 days a week in Turkey. The Posta is one of Turkey’s largest dailies with a circulation of approximately one million people. The Hürriyet, a national newspaper, considers itself as catering to “elite” audiences and emphasizes business, economics, politics, and international affairs. In contrast, Posta is generally classified as a “popular” newspaper. The Zaman has been identified as a religious conservative-leaning publication.

Online news databases of each newspaper was used to access the relevant news stories using three keywords: “prostitution”, “woman trafficking” and “sex gang”. Any article mentioning these words was included. A total of 1,095 articles about prostitution met the inclusion criteria. The repetition of the stories was not considered. Hence, for this study, the article itself was the unit of analysis and not the case discussed next.

Of all 1,095 analyzed news stories, 558 news items were retrieved from the Hürriyet online archive, 274 news items were retrieved from the Posta online archive, and the 263 news items were retrieved from the online archive of Zaman (Table 1).

The main approach of this study was to analyze each article as a separate phenomenon. Each news report from the three different newspapers was a unit of analysis, and, to understand the representation of prostitution in news media coverage, news frames of prostitution were identified. Approaching each article as the unit of analysis has the benefit of more accurately representing the frequency of news frames. Additionally, using the article rather than the case as the unit of analysis acknowledges that the audience may not read all articles related to one case, thus here the news frames in individual articles rather than over the entire case are argued to be more important. All stories were published in

the Turkish language and analyzed by the researcher. Each article was read at least twice. The results reported here are based upon English translations. During the reading process, the notes were taken by the researcher on the themes of each article, and then the notes were synthesized into a list of primary content-related frames.

**Table 1. Frequency of Prostitution Coverage by Turkish Daily Newspapers
January 1, 2010 to December 31, 2010**

Turkish Newspapers	Daily	Number of News	Percentage of Total News
Hürriyet		558	51%
Zaman		263	24%
Posta		274	25%
Total		1,095	100%

Findings

Research Question 1

The first research question asked how prostitutes were framed by the three most-selling daily newspapers during 2010. For the period from January 1 – December 31, 2010, the newspapers ran a variety of stories on prostitution. The findings of the framing analysis reveal that the depiction of the prostitute and her/his work remained consistent. There are three most prevalent themes in the period under review: non-Turkish prostitutes, disease – HIV, customers. The other themes, for instance; child abuse, “virginity”, organized /drug crime, victim, and the payment terms– are less prevalent. These frames are discussed in further detail below.

Research Question 2

The second research question asked whether the news included any picture or statement of the prostitute. There are few news stories (112 news stories in total) reporting the prostitute’s own statements about the news event. The news reporting the prostitute’s own statements can be divided into two according to their content. The first category includes statements that consider prostitution as an “exemplary behavior”. Among the three newspapers, the most popular image involves an economically poor but morally rich girl moving to a city, where she becomes the victim of economically rich but morally poor men. Another common image portrays non-Turkish women, especially Russian women, whom often have city backgrounds and higher education that came to Turkey to live a ‘better life’. By reporting these statements, the prostitutes are posited as a fallen woman who tries to return to a respectable position as a woman in a society; these statements are like a defense of the prostitutes’ position.

The Second type of statements has a “motivative” function, which emphasizes the amount of money that a prostitute can earn per month, and their “luxury life style”. In these news stories, prostitution is described as a business, and brothel owners are portrayed as upper-middle class citizens. In that sense, the prostitute is identified as a ‘working woman’, and prostitution as a work option. In line with the previous studies, the representation of prostitution is thought to be shifted along with a cultural shift toward a

more liberal view (Hobson, 1990; Hughes, 1984). Similarly, McLaughlin found that during the 1980s the prostitute is constantly portrayed as a working woman (McLaughlin, 1991).

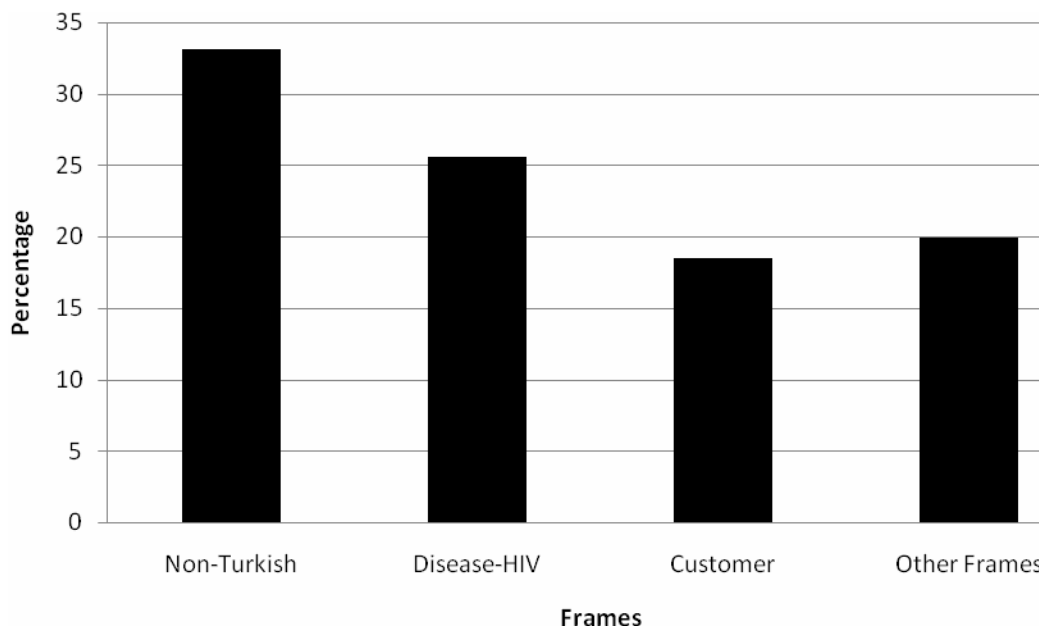
Of 1,095 analyzed news items, 648 (59.1 %) news items include a photo portraying the prostitute. The most frequent pictures (490 photos) in three newspapers depict prostitutes while they are being sent to the police station; on the other hand, there aren't any photos of the customers. The prostitutes are shown while they are taken to the hospital in few of the photos, in these news items the prostitutes were portrayed as 'deviant' due to their sexually transmitted disease. Regarding these photos that accompany news articles on prostitution, it can be concluded that the prostitutes are regularly portrayed as a social problem that disturbs the social norms.

On the other hand, the women in the news for prostitution are seen as selling something – their bodies, virginity. In these news stories, the prostitution is described in commercial terms, but the activities are not described in detail. In general, all of the news stories stress the effort of the police forces in combating prostitution. The police are portrayed as the “ultimate fighter” against prostitution; however, prostitution is legalized in Turkey.

Framing the Prostitution

The construction of the prostitutes in news media coverage varied according to the themes of non-Turkish prostitutes, disease -HIV, consumers, child abuse, “virginity”, organized/drug crime and the payment terms (see Figure 1). All frames emerged through inductive framing analysis.

Figure 1. Percentage of Frames on Prostitutions in a daily Turkish Newspapers



Frame 1: Non-Turkish prostitutes. In all three newspapers, mostly (363 news stories) non-Turkish prostitutes are covered. The non-Turkish prostitutes are characterized as “high status” prostitutes. The news stories especially emphasized their occupation, educational background. They also portrayed as women of all kinds and ages, escaped the harsh social and economic conditions in their home country. On the other hand, in most of news stories on non-Turkish prostitutes, the general impression is that they are ‘professionals’.

Frame 2: Disease-HIV. Another prevalent issue (281 news stories) that associated with the prostitution is sexually transmitted diseases, especially HIV. For some news stories, the words used in the headlines helped convey the frame, such as AIDS. In these news stories, the prostitutes are portrayed as an “offender”, and the customers are termed “victim”. In addition, there was an alert, warning against spread of sexually transmitted diseases, especially HIV. It should be noted that regarding the photos in those news items, the prostitutes are pictured while they are taken to the hospital.

Frame 3: Customers. In most of the news stories (203 news stories), prostitutes are portrayed under the shadow of the customer. In other words, if the customers are men who pay for sex, have a socially prestigious occupation, such as doctor, lawyer, military officer, etc., the news focuses on the customers and portray the men more negatively than the prostitutes. The prostitute is depicted in these news stories as a ‘secondary actor’. Additionally, the information about the prostitute and customer may not always be available or acknowledged by the news media. Here, the customer who is not seen as ‘ordinary’, either morally or socially, due to his occupation, is the main character of the news stories.

Other frames. The other frames can be discussed in a topic due to their percentage (19.9 %) of all news stories. There are few news stories about child prostitutes and, in those stories, the children are portrayed as the “victim”. However, the news stories on child prostitutes give detailed information on the “offender” who forced the child to prostitute.

Globally, prostitution is associated with organized crime. Although, in Turkey, few stories on prostitution, especially about non-Turkish prostitutes, are considered a part of organized drug crime. Also, the organizational structure of organized crime or their members aren’t mentioned in the news coverage, the main focus is the prostitute herself/himself.

Especially in two daily newspapers, Hürriyet and Posta, “virginity” is also tied with prostitution. For example, they particularly emphasize the importance of virginity in pricing. The virgin prostitute has a higher price than the others. Not only sex but also virginity is given in exchange for money, and it mostly mentions the customers and non-Turkish prostitutes. Few of the news stories report the “news” on the payment terms. However, the activities are not reported in detail, they do mention, however, new adaptations for payment, for instance, installments and paying via credit card. Regarding these news stories, prostitution is portrayed as business.

Research Question 3

Regarding the frames of prostitution, there are few differences among the reviewed newspapers. There are differences among the number of news items; Hürriyet has the highest number of news stories relative to the other two newspapers. It is most prevalent in Posta that the prostitutes are portrayed as an ‘entrepreneur’ and associated with the

costumers. Mostly non-Turkish prostitutes and the prostitutes having sexually transmitted diseases, especially HIV, are portrayed in Zaman. In Zaman, most of the news stories portrayed the prostitutes as a threat to family life, parallel to this perspective there are few news stories that include the pictures of prostitutes. In Posta, prostitution is characterized as a part of entertainment industry; especially the customers are described in detail. Among the three daily newspapers, it can be said that Hürriyet adopted “relatively neutral” words, symbols, etc.

Discussion and Conclusion

For the purpose of the study, the themes and issues associated with the media coverage of prostitution was examined for the year 2010. Not all of the news stories on prostitution in the three daily newspapers considered prostitution as a “social problem”. In all of the news stories reviewed, the other issues associated with prostitution are not spelled out. Most of the news stories report prostitution as a “business”. Regarding this perspective, the prostitute was represented as an “ordinary” citizen. Except from very few mentions of sexual practice, most prevalent in Posta, the newspaper items refer to the activities simply as “prostitution”. As the results showed, the women are understood as individual ‘entrepreneurs’, as seekers of happiness looking for money and luxury.

On the other hand, the news stories emphasize the necessity of health measures to protect customers or the public against the spread of STDs. In some instances, the effect on others was a key element of the news. The focus is on the spread of disease from prostitutes to customers, despite the fact that STDs are much more easily transmitted from men to women than otherwise (King, 1990, p. 160). The disease’s treatment or information about it is not considered in the news stories. This frame had an influence in highlighting prostitution’s direct or indirect effect on society. Also, disease is an important issue in the presentation of the prostitute as offender or victim. For instance, associating the prostitution with the disease put it in a category of crime or deviance. It should be noted that there are few news stories mentioning the violence against the prostitutes during 2010. Contrary to the previous studies on frames of prostitution, the prostitutes themselves are not constructed as a victim (see Jacobsen & Stenvoll, 2010). The patriarchal social structures are not considered necessarily by the news media as one of the reasons that cause women to sell sex. Similarly, in general, news media coverage has been criticized for failing to address the deeper reasons behind events (Carey, 1996), as well as for failing to follow stories over time (Mencher, 1993).

As the findings suggest, the lack of news coverage highlighting the reasons behind the prostitution potentially downplays prostitution as a worthy topic of attention. It is clear that the news coverage on prostitution ignores the patriarchal norms that channeled women into prostitution. Additionally, the news stories understate the sexual activity, in that sense they are reinforcing the notion that sexual activity is sacred.

In general, the specific details of news stories obviously change from day to day and from event to event, but the narrative strategies employed in journalistic storytelling are continuing. Defining and understanding prostitution as a social problem rather than a “business” furthermore opens the way for certain new political strategies, including new legislation.

The current analysis is limited to selected daily newspapers for a specific time period. Extending this research to TV and newspapers would be useful. There may be notably different goals and motivation of reporters by various types of news resources. For

instance, TV news may be more motivated to focus on the prostitute, including the image, life story etc. In order to enhance a comprehensive understanding of the relationship between news media and prostitution, future research may need to acquire the sociological understanding of prostitution in Turkey.

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